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Miss Mary Estlin

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A BRIEF NOTICE
OF *Wethered?*
AMERICAN SLAVERY,
AND THE
ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

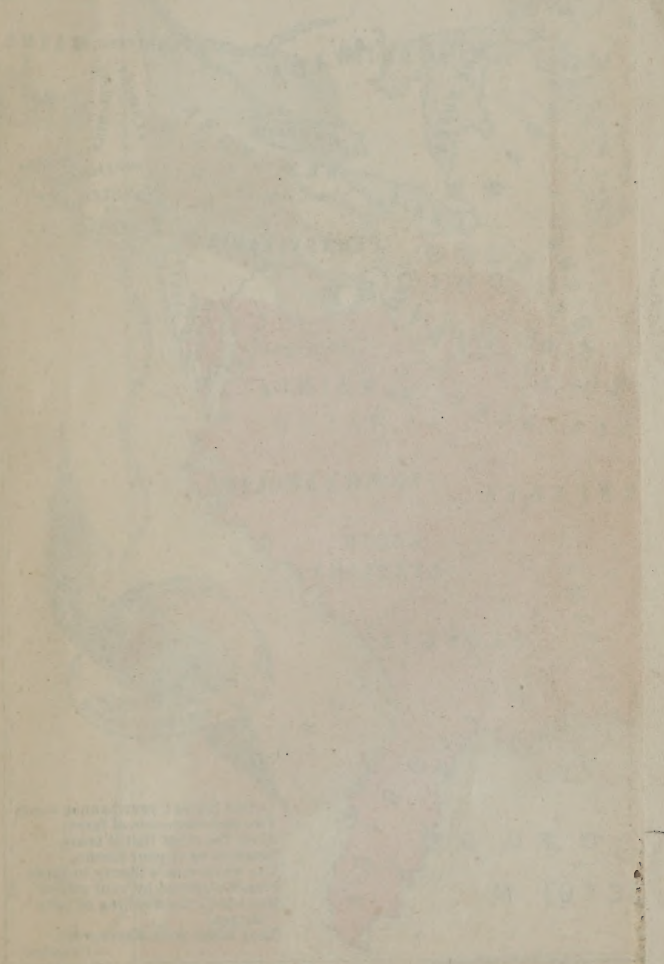
BY *4265.322*
J. B. ESTLIN, F.L.S., F.R.C.S.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED;
AND REPRINTED BY
THE LEEDS ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

LONDON:
WILLIAM TWEEDIE, 337, STRAND;
W. AND F. G. CASH, 5, BISHOPSGATE STREET, WITHOUT
BRISTOL: H. C. EVANS, 29, CLARE STREET;
DUBLIN: RICHARD D. WEBB.

THE NATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES

BRITISH POSSESSIONS



MORAL MAP OF NORTH AMERICA 1854.

The Slave States are coloured Red. The blighting influence of Slavery is also deeply felt in those parts more slightly streaked with Red



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NOTICE TO SECOND EDITION.

THIS tract, published anonymously, in the year 1846, has been out of print for four or five years, and inquiry has frequently been made for it. As the extraordinary circulation of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and her invaluable *Key*, has greatly increased the demand for anti-slavery literature, and as this *Brief Notice* has been considered a useful document by the friends of the cause in the United States, as well as by those in this country, I gladly accede to its republication by the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association, and to its being added to the series of Leeds Anti-Slavery Tracts.

J. B. ESTLIN.

PARK STREET, BRISTOL, Nov. 1, 1853.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

A LARGE collection of articles having been sent, in 1844 and 1845, from Bristol to Boston in the United States, for a bazaar which is annually held in that city, to increase the funds of the "Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society," it seemed probable that future contributions might be promoted by the circulation of a short account of slavery in America, and of the labours of the abolitionists.

The desirableness of such a statement was suggested by the numerous inquiries made, both by friends who contributed to the bazaar, and by visitors who inspected their labours, concerning the slaves in North America, and the nature of the efforts employed for their emancipation.

It soon, however, became manifest that the subject was too extensive, and too important, to be dismissed in five or six pages, as was originally contemplated, or to be confined within a narrower compass than the following tract.

The writer is fully aware of the very imperfect nature of the slight sketch he has attempted to give; but he hopes he has sufficiently brought into view the leading features of American slavery and the abolition movement, to afford *some* information to those who have not previously paid attention to the subject. He will derive an ample return for any trouble the preparation of this "Brief Notice" may have occasioned, should he be instrumental in extending a knowledge of the horrors of slavery in the United States, and in engaging the sympathy of any around him in that holy cause in which the American abolitionists are labouring with self-sacrificing zeal and untiring devotedness.

BRISTOL, June, 1846.

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A BRIEF NOTICE OF AMERICAN SLAVERY,

AND OF THE

ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

THE institution of Slavery in America is awakening so much interest in this country, and the time appears so rapidly approaching when the attention of the civilized world will be rivetted to events connected with it, that a few remarks upon it, and some notice of the abolitionists in the United States who are labouring for its overthrow, may not be unacceptable to many who have but limited access to American publications.

SECTION I.—FREE AND SLAVE-HOLDING STATES.*

It may be well to remind the reader, that in sixteen of the thirty United States of America, slavery is prohibited by law. In the remaining fourteen States it exists in full vigour, accompanied by all the inseparable evils to which the absolute possession of human beings, as property, has given rise in all ages and states of society. The Northern, or Free States, are,—the New England States (which include *Maine*, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, *Vermont*, Connecticut, and Rhode Island), New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, *Ohio*, *Indiana*, *Illinois*, *Michigan*, *Iowa*, *Wisconsin*, and *California*. The Southern, or Slave States are,—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, *Missouri*, *Kentucky*, *Tennessee*, Georgia, *Alabama*, *Louisiana*, *Arkansas*, *Mississippi*, and *Texas*. Those printed in italics are new States which have been formed, or annexed, since the separation of the original thirteen colonies from Great Britain in 1776.

In American publications on the subject of Slavery, the *North* is synonymous with the Free States, and free institutions; the

* See the Moral Map facing the title-page.

South with slavery, and Southern, or pro-slavery interests. The boundary line between the Northern and Southern States is frequently referred to by the term of "Mason and Dixon's line," from the name of the commissioners who surveyed it.

Slavery existed to a small extent in each of the original Northern States previously to the Revolution ; but it has, since that event, been gradually abolished in them all. It was finally terminated in New York in 1828.

The number of slaves is now estimated at nearly THREE MILLIONS AND A HALF, forming about one-sixth of the population of the United States.

Though a foreign slave-trade is prohibited by the laws of the American Union, it is believed that many thousands of negroes are from time to time smuggled into the States from Cuba and other quarters, to assist in supplying the deficiency from the destruction of life in the rice and cotton plantations. A considerable remaining deficiency is made up by an internal slave-trade, one of the most criminal and revolting departments of this nefarious institution. Many planters in Missouri, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky, whose land, having been used up by the wastefulness inseparable from slave labour, does not afford sufficient employment for the whole of their slave population, "raise" them for the market, and then sell them to traders who drive them to their place of destination—much in the way that cattle are bred, sold, and transported to various localities in England. The immorality necessarily attendant upon this system, the cruelty of separating husband and wife, parent and child, brothers and sisters, friends and acquaintances, to say nothing of the degradation of the auction mart, or the hardships incident to transportation to distant places, need not be insisted on.

Altogether it is calculated that the annual addition to the Slave population amounts to 150,000.

SECT. II.—TREATMENT OF SLAVES, AND LAWS OF THE SLAVE STATES.

In this brief outline we can only glance at the injury and injustice inflicted on the slave in the Southern States of Christian and Protestant America. It would be unreasonable and incorrect to suppose that the slaves are invariably treated with harshness and cruelty. It cannot be doubted that there are

some proprietors who, believing there is nothing sinful in holding slave property, are anxious to promote the happiness of their negroes (as far as *this* can be effected consistently with the injustice inseparable from the maintenance of slavery, and with the state of public opinion by which it is upheld), and who sincerely imagine that emancipation would be an evil to the slave instead of a boon. It is probable that, in many instances this unfortunate race have more physical enjoyment than the very poor free people in America, or in other civilized countries. But these admissions can be allowed to have no weight against the evils liable to arise from the master's irresponsible power; and an immense mass of incontestible evidence proves that this power is abused to an extent sufficient to render its existence unwarrantable, and to demand the relinquishment of a system productive of incalculable sin and misery. The well-known Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, who liberated his own slaves, says of American slavery: "Its system, its laws, and its possible abuses make it the lowest, the basest, and most unmitigated the world has seen."

The American Anti-slavery Society has been at much pains to obtain full and unquestionable evidence of the treatment of slaves in the Southern States; their reports extend over a long period of time, and comprehend nearly all the slave districts. These documents place beyond dispute the daily and hourly intense suffering of thousands of slaves. Many witnesses state, in respect to their treatment, that "cruelty is the rule, kindness the exception." A more appalling record of human misery and wickedness does not exist than a collection of evidence, published by that society, and entitled, *American Slavery as it is;—Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*. It was compiled by Mr. Theodore D. Weld, and no attempt has ever been made to refute it.

The sufferings of the negroes arise from hard and long-continued labour; inadequate repose; scanty food (a quart of Indian corn a-day, and no other kind of food, being a common allowance on many plantations); insufficient clothing; frequent and cruel floggings; other personal violence of the most brutal kind, often producing maiming for life; a total disregard of their feelings and affections, and of those ties which bind man to man; a systematic effort to keep them in a state of complete moral

degradation ; the withholding from them of the means of mental culture and religious knowledge (teaching them to read being forbidden) ; in a word, treating them altogether as brute animals, in order to preserve that absolute mastery over them, and to exact from them those unpaid services, which can be obtained by man from his fellow-man in no other way.

The laws of the slave States afford incontestible evidence of the barbarities to which the negroes are exposed. A law was enacted in Louisiana defining such atrocities as the following : “ For wilfully cutting out the tongue, putting out the eye, cruelly burning, or depriving any slave of any limb,” a penalty of 500 dollars is threatened. The little consideration, however, which is shown for the slave’s suffering, is exhibited in a strong light when this law is contrasted with one which concerns the *master’s* interests ; and which imposes a fine of 1,000 dollars (or £200), and imprisonment for two years, for “ cutting or breaking any iron chain or collar ” which any master has put on a slave to prevent him from running away. The person, therefore, who frees a slave from an iron collar which galls his neck and inflicts acute suffering, is liable to a vastly more severe sentence than one who wilfully cuts out his tongue !

One more instance may be adduced to show this want of consideration for the slave. If any person renders another man’s slave useless, by destroying his sight, or maiming him for life, the law imposes as a penalty the value of the slave before he was injured. The slave, however, is not to remain with his original master, who might be expected to be kind to him, but is transferred to the person who injured him, and who is bound to support him during the rest of his life. Can common humanity be expected from such a person under such circumstances ?

The following advertisement, from the *Charleston Courier*, will furnish a specimen not only of the cruelties actually committed, but of the indifference with which they must be regarded by the inhabitants of the Southern States :—

“ TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from the Subscriber, a negro girl named Molly. She is sixteen or seventeen years of age, slim made, lately branded on the left cheek thus—R, and a piece taken off her ear on the same side ; the same letter on the inside of both her legs.—ABNER ROSS, Fairfield District.”

As evidence of the cruelty inflicted on slaves by an utter

disregard to their social affections and family ties, the following advertisements are selected :—

From the *Savannah Georgian*.

“One Hundred Dollars will be given for my two fellows, Abram and Frank. Abram has a *wife* at Col. Stewart’s, in Liberty County, and a *sister* in Savannah, at Capt. Grovensting’s. Frank has a *wife* at Mr. Le Cont’s, in Liberty County, a *mother* at Thunderbolt, and a *sister* in Savannah.—WM. ROBERTS.”

“Fifty Dollars Reward.—Ran away, Paulidore, commonly called Paul. I understand Gen. R. Y. Hayne has purchased his *wife* and *children*, and has them now on his plantation at Goosecreek, where no doubt the fellow is frequently *lurking*.—T. DAVIS.”

The succeeding extract has been a standing advertisement in the Charleston papers :—

“One Hundred and Twenty Negroes for Sale.—The Subscriber has just arrived from Petersburg, Virginia, with one hundred and twenty *likely young Negroes*, of both sexes, and of every description, which he offers for sale on most reasonable terms.” In the lot are described “several women with children, small girls suitable for nurses, and several *small boys without their mothers*.—BENJ. DAVIS.”

The hopeless condition of the slave, both as regards his mental improvement, and his eventual restoration to his rights as a man, may be judged of by a bare mention of a few of the laws of the Southern States. These laws somewhat vary in the different States ; but the following will be found in some or other of them :—Teaching slaves to read is prohibited under severe penalties, fines and imprisonment, and especially if the free-coloured people presume to teach : in Louisiana, death is the legal penalty for the second offence.* A father may be flogged for teaching his own child to read the Bible.† Religious assemblies of slaves are illegal ; they may be broken up, and the negroes flogged without trial for being present. The law

* It is sometimes alleged that the severe laws against the education and free religious worship of slaves, were occasioned by the impertinent interference of Abolitionists. But it will be found, on an examination of their dates, that, with few exceptions, they were enacted long before any of the Abolition Societies were formed, and even before the American Revolution.—Goodell’s *American Slave Code*.

† The agent of a Bible Society was arrested in New Orleans, a few years ago, for offering a slave a Bible. The agent declared he did not know the man was a slave ; but he was convicted before the City Court, and would have been severely punished, but for an engagement on the part of the officers of the Bible Society, that strict orders should be given to their agents never to be guilty of a *similar offence* !

affords no protection to the marriage of slaves ; masters may at any time enforce a separation between husband and wife. If a free coloured man enter the ports of some of the Southern States on ship board, he is liable to be taken to prison, and kept there until the ship sails away ; and if the captain should fail to pay the expenses incurred by his detention, the coloured man is liable to be sold to perpetual slavery.* Assisting slaves to escape is an offence visited with severe penalties, such as long imprisonment, heavy fines, branding with a hot iron, the pillory, and even death. In Mississippi, slaves are punished capitally for thirty different crimes, all of which in the case of whites are visited only with fine and imprisonment ; eight of them, if committed by whites, are not punishable at all.

All the slave States allow the life of a fugitive slave to be taken, if his escape cannot otherwise be prevented. A slave refusing to submit to the lash may be legally shot.

If a slave be killed by cruel whipping, the master is liable to a fine, or to imprisonment for six months ; but as slave testimony is not received in evidence, the commission of the offence cannot be proved against masters, if none but negroes were present at the time. However injured a slave may be by personal violence, he cannot prosecute his master, or any one else, for damages.†

* The State of South Carolina is infamous for the insolence and severity with which she carries out this cruel and cowardly enactment, to which the coloured seamen of all nations, Great Britain included, are alike subjected. It is pitiable to witness the meekness with which England allows her citizens to be subjected to this outrageous oppression ; especially when we contrast it with her prompt measures for procuring justice for any of her subjects who may have been insulted or outraged by the weaker powers of Europe. The reader's attention is earnestly directed to the true and appalling story of " John Glasgow," in the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* for July, 1853 ; and also to a remarkable letter from the Rev. Samuel May, of Leicester, Massachusetts, published in the *Anti-Slavery Advocate* for November, 1853, in which he shows that such outrages against British subjects could be readily repressed by energetic remonstrance.

† In the third chapter of the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* will be found the details of the case of Simeon Souther, who flogged a slave to death, after a protracted torture of twelve hours, in the county of Hanover, State of Virginia, one of the most northern of the slave states. In the whole history of slavery, there is nothing more tremendous than this case. Souther being found guilty of murder in the second degree, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the penitentiary, appealed from

It is indeed maintained, that the laws, made professedly for the protection of the slave, were merely a *pretence* of consulting his advantage; for their efficacy is completely nullified by his inability to prove the injuries inflicted on him, white witnesses

the decision on the plea that "the offence, IF ANY, amounted to man slaughter;" and Judge Field, in confirming the sentence of the court below, stated, that "it has been decided by this court, that the owner of a slave for the malicious, cruel, and excessive beating of his own slave, cannot be indicted;" for "it is the policy of the law, in respect to the relation of master and slave, and for the sake of securing proper subordination and obedience on the part of the slave, to protect the master from prosecution in all such cases, even if the whipping and punishment be malicious, cruel, and excessive. When Souther completes his five years' imprisonment," says Mrs. Stowe, "there is no law in Virginia to prevent his buying as many more negroes as he chooses, and going over the same scene with any one of them at a future time, if only he profit by the information which has been so explicitly conveyed to him in this decision, that he must take care and stop his tortures short of the point of death—a matter about which, as the history of the Inquisition shows, men, by careful practice, can learn to judge with considerable precision. Probably, also, the next time, he will not be so foolish as to send out and request the attendance of two white witnesses, even though they may be so complacently interested in the proceedings as to spend the whole day in witnessing them without effort at prevention."

The essence of the American Slave Code was never more forcibly conveyed, than in a celebrated decision delivered, in 1829, by Judge Ruffin, an able lawyer, who was chief-justice of the State of North Carolina until the year 1852, when he resigned his office, which he had long filled with distinguished ability. The following is an extract from this decision, which will be found at greater length in the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, chap. iii.; and in Goodell's *American Slave Code*, chap. xiii. :—

"The end is the profit of the master, his security, and the public safety; the subject, one doomed, in his own person and his posterity, to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits. What moral considerations shall be addressed to such a being to convince him, what it is impossible but that the most stupid must feel and know can never be true, that he is thus to labour upon a principle of natural duty, or for the sake of his own personal happiness? Such services can only be expected from one who has no will of his own; who surrenders his will in implicit obedience to that of another. Such obedience is the consequence only of uncontrolled authority over the body. There is nothing else which can operate to produce the effect. THE POWER OF THE MASTER MUST BE ABSOLUTE, TO RENDER THE SUBMISSION OF THE SLAVE PERFECT. I most freely confess my sense of the harshness of this proposition. I feel it as deeply as any man can; and as a principle of moral right, every person in his retirement must repudiate it; but, in the actual condition of things, it must be so; there is no remedy. This discipline belongs to the state of slavery. They cannot be disunited without abrogating at once the

being rarely present when cruelties are committed by a master or overseer. The law which professes to grant the negro protection, strips him of the only means by which he could make that protection available.

On two points the abolitionists consider it important to caution the public against forming an opinion from the reports of English or American travellers, or of those interested in the maintenance of slavery. These are, the general treatment of the negroes, and their being *contented* with their condition as slaves.

Casual visitors to the southern States, or those who have resided only in *large* towns, are not competent to form a judgment on the first of these topics; for it is not in cities, nor even in the houses of planters, but in the plantations remote

rights of the master, and absolving the slave from his subjection. It constitutes the curse of slavery to both the bond and the free portions of our population; but it is *inherent in the relation* of master and slave. That there may be particular instances of cruelty and deliberate barbarity, where in conscience the law might properly interfere, is most probable. The difficulty is to determine where a *Court* may properly begin. Merely in the abstract, it may well be asked which power of the master accords with right? The answer will probably sweep away all of them. But we cannot look at the matter in that light. The truth is, that we are forbidden to enter upon a train of general reasoning on the subject. We cannot allow the right of the master to be brought into discussion in the courts of justice. The slave, to remain a slave, must be made sensible that there is no appeal from his master; that his power is, in no instance, usurped; but is conferred by the laws of man at least, if not by the law of God. The danger would be great, indeed, if the tribunals of justice should be called on to graduate the punishment appropriate to every temper and every dereliction of menial duty.

"No man can anticipate the many and aggravated provocations of the master, which the slave would be constantly stimulated by his own passions, or the instigation of others, to give; or the consequent wrath of the master, prompting him to bloody vengeance upon the turbulent traitor; a vengeance *generally practised with impunity, by reason of its privacy*. The Court, therefore, disclaims the power of changing the relation in which these parts of our people stand to each other.

* * * * *

"I repeat, that I would gladly have avoided this ungrateful question; but being brought to it, the Court is compelled to declare that while slavery exists amongst us in its present state, or until it shall seem fit to the legislature to interpose express enactments to the contrary, it will be the imperative *duty* of the judges to recognize the full dominion of the owner over the slave, except where the exercise of it is forbidden by statute."

from general observation, that the hardships of the slave reach their climax. The planters are proverbially hospitable; their guests are disposed to think favourably of their entertainers: it is not to be expected that the owners of slaves would intrude upon the notice of visitors, or even allow them to witness, what would leave an unpleasant impression on their minds.

Of those who temporarily reside in the slave States, the mechanics employed on the plantations are the best able to furnish a correct statement of the treatment of the negroes. Most satisfactory testimony has been obtained (that of slaves who have escaped out of reach of being called to account for their confessions) of how little reliance can be placed upon the negroes themselves, when interrogated by visitors as to their treatment. Any complaint on their part, it is asserted, is sure to be followed by some punishment, and their great object is to say what will be acceptable to those who have the power of severely visiting upon them whatever occasions displeasure to their masters or overseers.

Chief-justice Henderson, of North Carolina, a slaveholder, in a state trial, where he refused to permit a master to give in evidence a declaration made by a slave, said, "The master has an almost absolute control over the body and *mind* of his slave. The master's *will* is the slave's *will*. All his acts, *all his sayings*, are made with a view to propitiate his master. His confessions are made, not from a love of truth, not from a sense of duty, not to speak a falsehood, but to *please his master*."

To enable us to form a decision on this important point, we are referred to the slave-laws of the different States; to the statements of persons who have long resided among the plantation slaves, and whose evidence cannot be suspected of any undue bias; and especially to the admissions of the slaveholders themselves, in their advertisements and other public documents. Weld's *American Slavery as it is* contains numerous declarations of slaveholders that the slaves are most cruelly treated. This affecting record of human suffering and revolting barbarity, extracts from southern newspapers one hundred and twenty advertisements of runaway slaves, every one of whom is designated by some personal mutilation, amongst which are wounds of every description, many from

shots and stabs, scars from the whip, cropped ears, letters branded with hot iron, marks from iron collars, loss of teeth, &c., &c. Allowing that a few of these maimings may have arisen from natural or accidental causes, the greater number are clearly the result of personal violence; and if so many cases of injury are incidentally published to the world, as existing in only runaway negroes, how numerous must be the instances of such mutilations which are not heard of among the great mass of plantation slaves? The *Raleigh Standard*, of North Carolina, had the following advertisement:—

“Ran away, a negro woman and two children. A few days before she went off, *I burned her with a hot iron* on the left side of her face. I tried to make the letter M.—MICAHAH RICKS.”

It is well known that slaves are sometimes under overseers whose wages are proportioned to the crops they raise. Other overseers, whose salaries are fixed, are found to obtain lucrative situations according to their skill in drawing the largest income from a plantation with a given number of slaves. A virtual premium is thus offered to the over-working of the negroes, and many planters consider it more profitable to wear out their slaves by eight or ten years of hard work, and then purchase new ones, than to retain the same set by moderate labour for the natural term of their lives. The slave States in general prescribe no limit to the hours during which slaves may be worked; but South Carolina has passed a law in favour of the slave, forbidding his being worked more than fifteen hours in summer and fourteen in winter, during the twenty-four hours. The law of Louisiana has provided that the slave shall have two hours and a half out of the twenty-four, for rest! Ordinarily, it is considered that the field slaves have no more than four hours of rest during the day and night; as the corn must be ground, the bread baked, the clothes mended, and all other household duties performed during the time allowed for rest, between night and morning.

With regard to the negroes being contented with their condition, it would be strange indeed if, among the immense number of slaves that are in the Southern States, many of those who are employed as domestic servants were not so attached to the masters and mistresses who treated them kindly, as to be unwilling to leave them; but the dissatisfaction of the

majority with slavery is proved by the multitudes who, at the risk of their lives, annually attempt their escape. It is difficult to obtain an accurate account of the number who succeed in escaping to Canada and the northern States; but it is calculated, that of the present generation of slaves about one in thirty has actually escaped, or has attempted to run away;—this will make 90,000 on the whole slave population.*

SECT. III.—POLITICAL POWER OF THE SLAVEHOLDERS.

One great element of the political power of the slaveholders consists in the *three-fifths representation* of their slaves, which may be thus explained:—The American House of Representatives (equivalent to our House of Commons) consists of representatives from the several States of the Union, in proportion to their population. Every district containing 70,680 persons sends one representative. At the time of the adoption of the United States Constitution (the instrument on which the terms of the Union of the States is founded, and which was agreed upon in the year 1787), it was settled that, in reckoning the basis of representation in the slave States, so as in some degree to equalize it with that of the free States, every five slaves should be counted as three free persons. For example, a district containing 50,000 slaves, and 40,680 free persons, sends one representative to Congress, by the votes of the free inhabitants, the slaves counting as 30,000 free persons, although they are no more consulted in the choice than if they were so many swine. In a free State, a representative must be returned by the voters amongst at least 70,680 free inhabitants. The slaves do not vote, but they constitute a property qualification for their owners, and greatly increase in this way the political

* In the *Anti-Slavery Advocate* for November, 1853, will be found an extract from a speech delivered at Liverpool, by Mr. M'Kim, Secretary to the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, in which he testifies, that the vast majority of the fugitives he has met with have been what might be called "well-treated slaves" from the Northern slave States, and yet they face the greatest dangers to gain their liberty, and run the risk of terrible punishments in the event of capture. Mr. M'Kim further declares, that he has never seen a slave from the Southern rice and cotton plantations of Georgia and South Carolina. It is upon this class that the repressive and dehumanizing influence of the system weighs with the heaviest hand.

consequence of the slaveholders. Taking the slave population as 3,500,000 persons, they count as 2,100,000 free persons, in forming the basis of representation ; they are represented in Congress by thirty slaveholders, and they thus nullify the political influence of 2,100,000 inhabitants of the free States in the decision of any question affecting the interests of Slavery.

The annual increase of 150,000 slaves, which has been before noticed, constitutes also a perpetual augmentation to the slaveholding power.

The result of the political preponderance of the slaveholding interest is shown in the fact that a large majority of the American presidents have been slaveholders ; that the other great officers of the federal government in that country—her secretaries of state, her judges of the Supreme court of the United States, her generals, her admirals, her ministers to foreign courts—are chiefly slaveholders, and that the whole policy of the general government is shaped so as to confirm, as far as possible, the stability of the “peculiar institution” of slavery. The inhabitants of the northern States have the shipping interest, the manufacturing interest, the agricultural interest, to divide the attention of their politicians ; but the whole south move with the unanimity of one man for the establishment and preservation of slavery. For instance, the Florida war, which lasted seven years, and cost the Union five millions sterling, was originally undertaken at the instigation of the slaveholders, for the recovery of about 300 slaves, who had taken refuge among the Seminole Indians in the wilds and everglades of Florida.

In the year 1850, Mr. Fillmore having, as Vice-President, succeeded General Zachary Taylor, who died after a short tenure of the presidency of the United States, and Mr. Webster being Secretary of State (an office equivalent to that of First Lord of the Treasury in England), the infamous Fugitive Slave Bill was passed by the American Congress. This measure was carried forward through all its stages with the powerful assistance of Mr. Webster. It was generally believed that this able but unprincipled lawyer, a native of New England, and the most distinguished of northern orators and statesmen, was tempted to espouse the cause of the slaveholders, in the hope of obtaining the next nomination to the presidency with their consent and

assistance. If this was so, he was grievously disappointed. No man ever blasted a great name or prostituted great gifts to less purpose. In the nomination, which took place in 1852, Mr. Webster did not even obtain a single vote from the slaveholders, and his rejection was so contemptuous, that his death, which occurred a very few months afterwards, was generally attributed to a broken heart.

The Fugitive Slave Bill excited a thrill of horror and amazement throughout the civilized world. It is true that its object, the restoration of fugitive slaves to their masters, had been already provided for by the constitution of the United States; but the improved state of public opinion and the efforts of the abolitionists, had rendered all previous enactments with this view comparatively inoperative. The Fugitive Slave Law was full of shameful, cruel, and unconstitutional provisions; and it struck a panic into the coloured inhabitants of the free States, hundreds of whom left their houses and property and took refuge in Canada. Many were seized and dragged back to slavery. Two slaveholders, while in pursuit of their slaves, were shot at Christiana, in the State of Pennsylvania. Some slaves were killed while resisting capture, and several were rescued while in the hands of the man-hunter. On the whole, this odious enactment, the most oppressive and cruel ever passed by any constitutional assembly in any age, has been a complete failure in its object.

SECT. IV.—THE FREE COLOURED POPULATION.

In the northern, or free States, there is a considerable number of coloured people—the descendants, principally, of the slaves who were originally liberated in those States. They greatly vary in complexion, many being very fair; but all are to some extent coloured. At the census of 1840 their number was about 160,000; while the number of free coloured people resident in the slave States amounted to 200,000.

Much notice is taken in the United States of the number and inequalities of the classes of society in England; but there exists between our various classes no feeling analogous to that which is entertained by the mass of the white inhabitants of America towards their coloured population. With us the rich and the poor, the ignorant and the educated, form themselves

almost spontaneously into an endless variety of circles ; but there is no “impassable barrier” from one of these divisions to another. The poor man, by becoming rich, will unite with those from whom he was previously separated. If one from the illiterate class become educated, he will not be kept at a distance from those among whom he is now privileged to enter. No external circumstances but his own misconduct will deprive any man of that respect to which, as a man, he is entitled. It is difficult for us to conceive that a person well educated, well conducted, well off in worldly circumstances, should be looked down upon by those who are in none of these respects superior to himself. But in America the treatment of the free coloured people, not only in the slave States (where no great consideration for them could be expected), but in the free cities of the north, is disgraceful to the white inhabitants as republicans and as Christians.

In public conveyances and hotels it is usual for them to be kept separate from the white people, though paying the same fares and other charges. In churches, negro pews, or separate seats, are frequently allotted for them. Their young men are denied education in the ordinary schools and universities, and every possible indignity is heaped upon them. In no place is this prejudice said to be more prevalent than in Philadelphia—the City of Brotherly Love!

The following examples may serve as illustrations of the treatment referred to :—A coloured gentleman, the Rev. Mr. Livingston, an episcopally ordained clergyman, was travelling by the *De Witt Clinton* steamboat from New York to Albany. Though the weather was extremely cold, and he had paid the same fare as the rest of the passengers, the captain refused him any accommodation below, and he had to pass the whole night on deck, with nothing to lie on but the bare boards. To use his own expression, “A dog would have had more care taken of him.”

A coloured gentleman, formerly a major in the Brazilian army, took a place for himself and his wife, a mulatto, in the steamboat from New Bedford to Nantucket. Heavy rain coming on, his wife, with an infant at the breast, descended to the cabin. She was refused admittance there, as she was a “negro.” No remonstrance on the part of her husband availed, and she

was forced by the captain, though in delicate health, to return to the deck, exposed to the inclemency of the weather.

In 1833, at Canterbury, in the *free* State of Connecticut, a lady of irreproachable character, Miss Crandall, who kept a boarding school for young ladies, having lost some of her pupils in consequence of taking one with a slightly coloured skin, advertised her intention of changing her plan, and of receiving coloured girls. As she could not be dissuaded from her purpose by the gentry of the village, they obtained an act from their State Legislature, prohibiting the admission of coloured people into the place, if contrary to the wishes of the majority. Doubting the legality of this legislation, Miss Crandall persevered with her school, was arrested, thrown into prison, bailed, tried, escaped conviction, and was indicted a second time. But her persecutors also exercised some of their own law : Miss C. was derided and insulted when she walked out ; the tradesmen of the place refused to deal with her ; the well on her premises was filled up, and the inmates of her house kept in alarm at night by the windows being broken, and stones thrown into the rooms. Finally, the personal safety of herself and her helpless pupils compelled her to yield to the unmanly persecution with which she was assailed. Andrew J. Judson, Esq., a lawyer at Canterbury, who was subsequently elevated to the judicial bench, is described as having been the prominent leader of Miss Crandall's opponents.

It is lamentable to see this unchristian feeling fostered by those who have the power, and ought to have the inclination, to teach a better spirit. The Rev. Dr. Dewey, a distinguished clergyman of New York, favourably known in this country and in America by the publication of many eloquent sermons, and by a work entitled *The Old and New World*, speaking of the coloured race generally, says, "They must ever be with us a despised minority ;"—"separated from us by impassable physical, if not mental barriers, how are they ever to rise ? How are they to enjoy any fair chance as men ?"* This statement of the existence of a physical barrier to the amalgamation of the classes, is made with a full knowledge of an almost white race of slaves at the south, the children of the planters

* See his *Essay on American Morals and Manners*.

by negro mothers ; and the necessity that the coloured people should continue in a degraded state is spoken of by Dr. Dewey, without any censure of those who, by refusing to treat them as rational beings, and as fellow-men, keep them in this condition. We cannot wonder that the abolitionists use indignant language, when they perceive that the only amalgamation of the classes denounced as impracticable, is that hallowed by the matrimonial tie, and when they see their benevolent purposes thwarted by those to whose good reputation and extensive influence they might reasonably look for encouragement and support. Dr. Dewey suggests, as the only imaginable remedy for the evil he deplures, *the removal of the coloured people to distant territories* ; in other words, their expatriation from the soil of their birth, on which they have as good a right to reside as those who recommend their banishment from it !* There appears to be no doubt that the light in which the free coloured people are viewed by the inhabitants of the Northern States, and the conduct generally pursued towards them, have greatly tended to keep up that indifference to the existence of slavery in the south which is so general in the free portions of the Union. The behaviour of individuals towards this class is considered by the abolitionists as a criterion of their views and wishes with regard to abolition. No sincere advocate of emancipation ever treats the coloured people otherwise than as "men and brothers." It is, however, gratifying to observe, that with the spread of anti-slavery doctrines the conduct of the Americans towards their free coloured citizens improves ; and a most marked instance of denunciation of the "aristocracy of the skin," has recently occurred at New Bedford. The managers of the Lyceum of that town having passed a regulation to exclude coloured people from member-

* The notoriety of Dr. Dewey has since received a most unenviable addition, by a speech he made subsequent to the passing of the Fugitive Slave Bill in which he declared, that sooner than peril the safety of the American Union, which he professed to consider in danger if fugitives were not sent back to their masters, he would "send his own mother into slavery." This horrible declaration raised such an outcry of disgust and astonishment, that he has qualified it by stating he had not said his *mother*, but his *son* or his *brother*. But there is ample evidence that "his mother" were the words he used ; and, if not, the difference in his favour is rather as a matter of taste than intention.

ship (but insulting them by the permission to attend gratuitously in a gallery appropriated for them), Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Charles Sumner, Esqs.,—gentlemen distinguished for their writings and talents, who had engaged to give some lectures at the Lyceum,—have publicly withdrawn from the undertaking, on the ground of the unjust and illiberal spirit evinced by the conductors of the institution.

SECT. V.—MORAL CONSEQUENCES OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

It is not necessary to appeal to those who have openly embraced the anti-slavery cause, for an opinion as to the demoralizing influence of slavery upon the American nation. This evil is admitted and deplored by thousands, who, for various reasons, do nothing for its removal.

Debasing, indeed, must be the effect on the intelligent minds of the northern inhabitants of always contemplating, not only with apathy, but with attempts to palliate and excuse an institution termed by John Wesley, “The sum of all villanies.” Lamentable in its influence upon the character of professed Christians, must be the daily habit of treating as unworthy of the rights and charities of men, those whom it has pleased God to bring into existence with skins differently coloured from their own, instead of doing all in their power to raise in the social scale this oppressed and cruelly neglected class of their fellow-citizens.

What an insurmountable obstacle to moral progress must exist in the slave States, where ministers of the gospel are prohibited from denouncing slavery as a sin, and where many of them are slaveholders themselves, and defend the system on the authority of Scripture! The direct consequences upon the characters of the whites, induced by the possession of irresponsible power over their helpless slave population, are not disputed. The children of the slave-owners, being accustomed from their cradles to unrestrained command, and often to the violent treatment of their domestic slaves, naturally grow up with undisciplined passions and tyrannical dispositions. The number of atrocities perpetrated at the south among that class of society which in this country are called *gentlemen* (a record of which will be found in *American Slavery as it is*, or the *Key to Uncle Tom’s Cabin*), would surpass all belief, were they not

extracted from the journals of the slave States. Arms are usually carried, and the most revolting murders are matters of no uncommon occurrence. The Southern newspapers are continually detailing the most deadly affrays with bowie knives, dirks, pistols, rifles, and other weapons, besides formal duels and lawless lynchings. The halls of legislation are not exempted from the exhibition of the most ungovernable rage. The *Arkansas Gazette* for July, 1838, contains the report of an affray in the House of Representatives of that State, in which the speaker, Colonel John Wilson, while presiding over the deliberations of the House, took umbrage at words spoken in debate by Major Anthony, one of the members; he came down from the Speaker's chair, drew a large bowie knife from his bosom, and attacked Major A., who defended himself for some time, but was at last stabbed through the heart and fell dead on the floor. Colonel Wilson deliberately wiped the blood from his knife, and returned to his seat. To show the manner in which the slave-holding community sanctioned so dreadful a crime, it is farther stated that the authorities took no notice of the offence until the friends of the murdered man demanded a warrant for Colonel Wilson's apprehension; he was then held to bail, went to his trial in a coach and four, was acquitted by a unanimous verdict, and was escorted from the court in triumph by his friends.

The more striking characteristics of the Southern people, fostered and rendered incurable by slavery, are said to be a haughty bearing, reckless expenditure, indifference to bloodshed, idleness, intemperance, and gambling.

Even the literature of America does not escape the contaminating influence of slavery. All school books and other works published at the north, which show any sympathy with the slave, are either shut out from the Southern market, or are published with omissions by the booksellers of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, to suit the tastes of slave-holders. Reprints of English works (which are circulated with extraordinary promptness through the Union) are generally treated in the same manner. Mr. Abdy's *Travels in the United States*, is a memorable instance of an English work of interest and ability devoted to remarks upon that country, which has never been reprinted there. The reason will be found in the fact that

he was the first traveller of eminence, who made it his business to expose, in all its enormity, the prejudice which weighs with such cruel force upon the people of colour, and which renders it difficult for any but those whose natural gifts are extraordinary, to rise above the degradation to which they are doomed *by the whole people, with the exception of the abolitionists*. Such, however, was the interest excited by Mr. Dickens' *American Notes*, that all efforts to suppress their publication in the South were fruitless; and his terrible chapter on slavery (the ninth in that work) has happily made its way into the homes of the slave-holding community.*

The people of America are, probably, most imperfectly acquainted with the effect of their slave institutions upon public opinion in this, and other European countries. In whatever connection America is named amongst us, the monstrous inconsistency forces itself upon our notice, of a nation priding itself on its love of liberty, and declaring that "all men are born free and equal," at the same time exhibiting to the

* As reference has been made to American literature in connection with the abolition movement, it may be well farther to remark that the poems of Whittier, on the subject of slavery and the early struggles of the abolitionists, are full of fire, grace, and beauty, and would do honour to any writer of his father-land. Another author whose writings are greatly admired, Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, was amongst the earliest of the abolitionists. At the commencement of their enterprise she was in high estimation with the public; but on her espousal of the obnoxious cause, her works were slighted and almost proscribed—her fashionable acquaintance looked coldly upon her, and her popularity was gone. Mrs. Child was formerly editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, and her "Appeal in behalf of that class of Americans called Africans," was one of the earliest, as well as one of the best productions of the anti-slavery press. Her life of the veteran abolitionist and philanthropist, Isaac T. Hopper, of New York, recently published, is a most amusing and instructive biography. More recently, Pierpont, Burleigh, and Lowell, as poets, and Emerson and Sumner, as prose writers, have done themselves and their country honour by the heroism with which they have espoused the side of justice, humanity, and true patriotism. The poet Longfellow has written some fine anti-slavery poems, but these were omitted in a recent elegant edition of his works, in order to suit the Southern market. In this reference to anti-slavery writers in America, it is due to Dr. Snodgrass, editor of the *Saturday Visitor*, published at Baltimore, Maryland, to mention with respect his boldness in withstanding slavery in a slave State. The noble conduct of Cassius M. Clay, in venturing the publication of his *True American* in Kentucky, will be noticed hereafter.

world three millions of its citizens in hopeless slavery ! Our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic must not be surprised, if the blighting influence of their slavery disinclines numbers of our travel-loving population from journeying in the United States ; and they must make some allowance for those who have visited their shores, if, disgusted with what they have seen of slavery at the south, and of the unchristian treatment of the free coloured people at the north, they have viewed America with prejudiced eyes, and have not done justice either to her people or her institutions. Some of us who remember the state of feeling towards America among a large and intelligent class in this country forty years ago, cannot but remark how expectation and hope have been disappointed in the failure of the experiment so anxiously watched, of the working of a republican government in a civilised and Christian country, unfettered by any of the institutions which were too firmly fixed in the Old World to be easily eradicated. To the continuance and increase of slavery this failure is mainly attributable : and it is curious to observe the change that has taken place in the sentiments of a large section of English society, from a sanguine belief that true liberty was to be found only in America, to a higher appreciation of English freedom, a greater admiration of the sanctity and even-handedness of English laws, and a deepened attachment to our modified form of monarchical government.

SECT. VI.—ORIGIN AND INTELLECT OF THE NEGRO.

As the opinion is common in America that negroes are a different species from white people, and as one of the arguments in defence of enslaving the blacks is founded on this sentiment, it may be desirable, though somewhat foreign to the design of this *Brief Notice*, to remark that the prevailing view of physiologists of the present day is in favour of the unity of our species. Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia, indeed, in his valuable work, *Crania Americana*, arrives at the conclusion that the various races of human beings, instead of springing from a single pair, were created originally in different localities, “each race being adapted from the beginning to its peculiar local destination.” On the other hand, Dr. Prichard (whose extensive researches into this interesting subject were continued through

a period of nearly forty years), "following," as he states, "that strict rule of scientific scrutiny which modern philosophy exacts in matters of inductive reasoning, and which requires that we should close our eyes against all presumptive and extrinsic evidence, and abstract our minds from all considerations not derived from matters of fact," is fully satisfied of the truth of the Mosaic record, that a single pair were the parents of the whole human family. Among the most distinguished naturalists of the continent of Europe, Blumenbach, who devoted a great part of his time during a long life to the subject, and who made the first great collection of skulls of all races (which for its universality has never yet been rivalled), always maintained the same opinion. In France, the eminent physiologist, M. Flourens, who formerly denied it, has lately declared himself a decided believer in the identity of the species.

Most unphilosophical assumptions are current in America, as to the natural inferiority of the coloured races, and their incompetency to receive instruction.* Until those who compose this class of mankind have been placed in circumstances favourable to moral and intellectual culture, and the experiment of their improvement has been fairly tested, we are not warranted in the unqualified assertion of their inferiority to those who have hitherto been their oppressors. Numerous instances exist of individuals among them who have evinced eminent talent, and acquired much knowledge, under the greatest difficulties and discouragements.†

* The so-called science of modern Phrenology (mischievous because false, not false because mischievous, unsupported by Anatomy, and requiring centuries of observation upon millions of human beings, to justify a tenth part of its present pretension to allot particular localities in the brain for the faculties of the mind), has tendered its unworthy and presumptuous services to aid the degradation of the despised and injured Negro.

† If the reader is interested in this subject, he is referred to Tract 79 of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Series; or to a small work recently published, containing a condensation of facts in support of Negro equality, entitled *God's Image in Ebony*, by H. G. Adams. If still further evidence be required, it may be found in a larger work, of nearly 600 pages, entitled *A Tribute for the Negro; being a Vindication of the Moral, Intellectual, and Religious Capabilities of the African Race*, by Wilson Armistead; which contains a large mass of facts in proof of Negro intellect.

The long experience of British planters, resident in our colonies, is confirmatory of the natural capacity of the negro. Intelligent West Indians, indeed, are seldom to be met with who express any doubt on the subject. Some have strongly advocated the competency of the blacks to profit, equally with Europeans, by such opportunities of improvement as are afforded them. Renn Hampden, Esq., M.P., formerly chairman of the privy council in Barbadoes, maintained that "the blacks are not inferior to the whites in intellect." Others, who have paid attention to this subject, have adopted similar views; among them are the Abbé Grégoire, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Clarkson, &c. In a series of twenty *Annual Statements*, published by the "*Ladies' Society for Promoting the early Education and Improvement of the Children of Negroes and People of Colour in the British West Indies*," embracing a report of a large number of schools and of many thousand children, the great progress of the pupils is often noticed, but no complaint is made of their incapacity to receive instruction. Were it possible for a given number of the children of the aristocracy of England and of the American slaves to exchange situations from the moment of birth, it is by no means certain that the kindly-treated, educated, *christianised* negro in England, would not be as superior to the white slave in America, as the free European is now, when compared with the enslaved African. But if it be improbable that an advance of this extent could take place in a single generation, it is not disputed that the present race is susceptible of considerable mental elevation. And as regards the future, there seems little reason for doubting that a successive improvement would take place through a series of generations, by a constant increase and training of the mental faculties; for, agreeably to the opinion of the best physiologists, such improvements become organic, and so affect the race after several repetitions, as to form what may be termed the mould to a new character. Even those who hold Dr. Morton's view on this point cannot deny that the powers of speech, of reasoning, of feeling, of sympathy, constitute the negro a human being with moral responsibility; and, consequently, that he has a claim on his fellow-creatures for all that consideration which Christianity enjoins from man to man.

SECT. VII.—THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

It was not to be expected that the conscience of the whole people of America could long slumber under such a load of evil and iniquity as that which slavery fostered among them ; and about thirty-six years ago a society was formed, called the Colonization Society, professing to have in view the gradual abolition of slavery, by the removal of all the slaves and free coloured people to Liberia, in Africa. Large funds were collected for this scheme, and many who were hostile to slavery united in it. But in process of time its utter inefficiency became apparent: there was, indeed, reason to suspect that its original intent was to lull opposition to slavery, and to serve the interests of the slaveholder, by getting rid of the free people of colour, who have always been disliked and dreaded by the planters, as likely to render their negroes more discontented. This supposition derives support from the circumstance of Mr. Wilberforce and Mr. Clarkson, who at first sympathised with the Colonization Society, having subsequently withdrawn their countenance from it ; and also from the fact, that the presidents and patrons of the Colonization Society have generally been slaveholders, or strong opponents to the efforts of the abolitionists. But, without imputing insincerity to the founders of this institution, its inefficacy was absurdly glaring when, after being in existence for *sixteen years*, it was ascertained that as many blacks had been exported to Liberia as were born in *one fortnight* in the United States—the slave population in that period having increased 500,000, and having been diminished by the Colonization Society to the extent of 500 individuals.

More decided efforts against slavery, which was every year increasing, sprang up in 1830 and following years, in the form of abolition societies. The first anti-slavery society, on the principle of the inherent sinfulness of slavery, and the religious duty of immediately abolishing it, was established in Boston in 1832. The first anti-slavery *Convention* was held in Philadelphia, in December, 1833, and was attended by delegates from the 6 States which compose New England, from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio ; that is, from 10 States out of the 24 States which then constituted the Union. It resulted in the establishment of the American Anti-Slavery

Society, and at the end of 1834 the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Societies amounted to 200.

Mr. William Lloyd Garrison was the founder and the earliest promoter of these institutions. Associated with him have been men and women who are alike an honour to their nation and their race.

No effort of public benevolence in our country, however zealously promoted, can present any parallel to the labours, the trials, the dangers of the American abolitionists; and the history of philanthropic enterprise records no more disinterested and devoted labourers in the cause of humanity, than have graced the ranks of this noble band. Unappalled by the murder of some of their number, by the imprisonment of others, by threatenings of death, by various acts of personal violence, by the hostility of the public generally, in the free, almost as much as in the slave States,—unsubdued by the coldness and reproaches of their friends and connexions, by the indifference, and too often by the censures of the ministers of that religion, the precepts of which had called them to their work,—they have proceeded steadily in the consecration of their time, their talents, and their property to the interests of the oppressed and friendless slave.

It is no part of the object of this notice to enter upon the differing views of American abolitionists, as to the fittest mode of carrying on the mighty contest in which they are engaged. To expect unanimity among them would be to hope for what is contrary to the character of the human mind. In the ranks of those who unite in this enterprise, some are ardent and unhesitating, others timid and cautious; some self-sacrificing, others more considerate of their personal interests; some boldly follow the call of truth and duty, whithersoever it may lead, others deliberate on the worldly policy and expediency of their measures. Regardless of the opinions of those around them, some pursue their straightforward path; while the fear of ridicule and censure, or loss of caste in the circles in which they move, confines within very moderate bounds the anti-slavery efforts of others. Some are deterred from active and open exertion by the opinions of those clergymen to whom they have been accustomed to look for guidance in their temporal and

spiritual affairs ; others, feeling themselves constrained to pursue the line of duty which they think the Bible points out to them, will not allow the dictation of a course of conduct that is in their view opposed to the precepts of the gospel. Some advocate immediate emancipation, others more gradual measures ; some endeavour to influence the Legislature by political action, voting only for such representatives in Congress as will oppose the slave-holding interest ; others consider this mode of proceeding as utterly futile, and feeling that the present American Constitution requires of them an acquiescence in laws favouring Slavery entirely at variance with their ideas of duty to God, refuse from conscientious motives to exercise their political rights, and maintain that they are called upon to aim at a dissolution of the Union, instead of affording any support to the present Constitution.

In these, and in innumerable other instances, will the opinions of Abolitionists be found to differ, and societies will naturally be formed of those who take similar views, or are influenced by similar feelings. And if difference of sentiment occasionally excite want of candour and forbearance among all organizations of men having the same great purpose in view, though disagreeing as to the means of accomplishing it, we must not expect from American abolitionists that freedom from human infirmity which is found neither amongst religious professors nor in any class of philanthropists. This very want of unanimity may, in the hands of Providence, be instrumental in bringing about the important end contemplated by all the labourers in the anti-slavery vineyard. The work thus divided, some toiling in one direction, some in another, may be the more speedily and more perfectly completed.

In affording to the American abolitionist that sympathy and assistance which he solicits and deserves from the land of his forefathers, it is not necessary for us to enter into the peculiarities that distinguish various societies. To all sincerely interested in freeing their country from the crimes, the consequences, and the odium of slave-holding, we may unhesitatingly bid God-speed. But from a conviction that the mode of action of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY is best suited to the magnitude of the evil to be struggled against, the writer of these remarks will hold principally in view this association and its

various auxiliaries, amongst which are the "Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society," (the original one that was formed in 1832), the auxiliary State Societies of Pennsylvania, Western New York, Ohio, &c., and the "Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society," established in the autumn of 1835, and remarkable for the distinguished ladies to whom it is indebted for its eminence and efficiency.

To aid an annual fair, or bazaar, held at Boston for the benefit of these Associations, a large box of useful and ornamental articles, made or purchased by those who were desirous of showing their good-will in the cause of the oppressed slave, has been annually sent from Bristol during the last nine years; and it was for the purpose of extending a knowledge of this tribute, which, it is hoped, will be continued, that the writer of these observations has been induced to undertake the task of diffusing some information upon the abolition movement in America.*

Several American journals advocate anti-slavery principles; but the official organ of the "American Anti-Slavery Society" is the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, a large-sized weekly paper, published at New York, the subscription being two dollars a-year, or about twopence for each paper. It may be received in England by post from America, upon the payment of an additional penny on each copy; and it furnishes a valuable and interesting record of every proceeding in the abolition cause.

Almost from the commencement of the Anti-Slavery movement, a weekly journal has been published in Boston, called *The Liberator*, originated and still edited by Mr. Garrison. This sheet is not the organ of any society, but contains energetic appeals in favour of the slave, and an ample account of all the proceedings of the abolitionists. It is remarkable for the fearlessness and magnanimity with which it gives copious quotations from the arguments and calumnies continually employed by hostile prints against the course pursued by the promoters of the anti-slavery cause. The *Liberator* discusses various moral, religious, and philanthropic topics that are entirely unconnected with the slavery question, and often with a degree of freedom and want of selection not suitable to English taste. It

* See Appendix I., page 49.

may be questioned whether abolitionism would not be benefited by the omission of such discussions in a paper, whose editor and proprietor is the most prominent as he is one of the ablest advocates of the slave. Most unjustly, however, do the opponents of the Anti-Slavery Societies, both at the North and South, charge the body of abolitionists with holding and connecting with abolitionism all unpopular or objectionable opinions advocated by the editor, or his correspondents, upon other subjects. It is the boast of these societies that, while their platform is open to the honest advocate of emancipation, whatever be his religious or political creed, they carefully exclude from their proceedings all objects that are not strictly of an anti-slavery character. None of the funds of the American Anti-Slavery Society are employed in efforts to control political elections.

SECT. VIII.—PURPOSES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ABOLITIONISTS.

The great object of the American abolitionists may be simply stated to be that of *awakening the national conscience to a sense of the guilt of slavery*.

They maintain that man has no right to hold his fellow-being in bondage, to trade in his person, or to rob him of the fruits of his bodily labour, and at the same time envelope his soul in moral darkness ; and they demand for their wronged countrymen an immediate restoration of their natural rights.

The bond of union of the American Anti-Slavery Society is, that "Slaveholding is a sin against God under all circumstances, and ought to be immediately abandoned." They do not deal with minutiae, advocating *this* scheme of emancipation or *that*; —they point to the American "Declaration of Independence," which asserts that "*All men are born free and equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ;*" and they ask how the existence of three millions of human beings in abject, cruel servitude, is consistent with such a high profession .

The measures adopted for spreading the requisite knowledge of the vast extent and wickedness of slavery, and for rousing the nation to a sense not only of the sin of a system so opposed to the laws of God and man, but of its danger to the safety

and best interests of their country, are, the extensive diffusion of publications, the employment of lecturers in the free States, and the promotion in various ways of public meetings, where resolutions opposed to slavery are passed, and protests signed. For efficiently carrying out these purposes, considerable funds are needed, and noble, indeed, is the liberality of the abolitionists towards this object. But their cause is as yet so unpopular and unfashionable, that the number of the wealthier classes, or of the more prominent professors in the various religious bodies who join in the movement is comparatively small.

Whatever be the mode of action pursued by the various Anti-Slavery Societies, *all of them agree in the necessity of effecting the contemplated change in a peaceful manner, all resort to physical force being universally deprecated.* Indeed, many members of the *American Anti-Slavery Society* (which is the most uncompromising association of any in the contest with slaveholders) are *Non-Resistants*, a name given to persons advocating views similar to those held by the Society of Friends, respecting the unlawfulness of violence on all occasions, even in self-defence.

A very important principle is extensively acted upon by abolitionists, which has subjected its members to the false charge of being opposed to all forms of government. They call in question the moral character of the United States' Constitution, and the propriety of voting and holding office under it. They maintain that a Constitution containing provisions flagrantly opposed to the laws of God, and to the rights of man, ought not to be supported; and they declare that those who do hold office generally employ their influence in upholding slavery. Those who vote for candidates for public offices, it is argued, virtually pledge themselves to fulfil the following conditions, contained in the Constitution, in favour of slavery:—

1. To deliver up fugitive slaves.
2. That the naval and military force shall be employed to quell a slave insurrection.
3. That the Federal Government shall protect slave States against foreign invasion.
4. That the South shall be allowed a representation for its slaves in the National Legislature, equal to three-fourths of the same number of free persons.

To fulfil these stipulations, they say, would be to incur the guilt of slaveholding; whilst swearing themselves, or appointing others to swear, to fulfil them, with no intention of doing so, would be perjury. Those, therefore, who entertain such views, have adopted the motto of "*No union with slaveholders;*" and, by ceasing to hold office, by withdrawing from ecclesiastical associations with which slaveholders are joined, and by bearing in word and deed a constant protest against the national constitutional government, they aim to assist in bringing about a peaceful revolution in the country; for which conduct they are unjustly accused by their enemies of being opposed to all human government.

The following "*Disunion Pledge*" is now widely circulated, and extensively signed, by those who adopt the views just detailed:—

"We, the undersigned, to signify our abhorrence of injustice and oppression, and to clear our skirts from innocent blood, do hereby pledge ourselves in all suitable ways to strive for the peaceable dissolution of the Union, as the most consistent, feasible, and efficient means of abolishing Slavery."

A dissolution of the Union, it is affirmed, would inevitably put an end to slavery in the United States. Deprived of the protection of the military force of the north, the southern States could not prevent a servile rebellion; and the conversion of slave into free labour would be the necessary consequence.

One anti-slavery body in America, called the Liberty Party, aimed for some years at effecting the abolition of slavery by means of political action, and consequently felt themselves justified in escaping the odium of uniting in the unpopular efforts of the "American Anti-Slavery Society," from which they separated. But though many able men belonged to their number, their prospects were not very encouraging. At the presidential election in 1844, they polled only 63,000 out of 2,000,000 voters; and they have since, with few exceptions, been virtually merged into the Free-Soil party, whose object as a party, although it includes many sincere and zealous abolitionists, is merely to prevent the extension of slavery in the territories, and the admission of any more slave States into the Union.

A distinct secession from the American Anti-Slavery So-

ciety took place in 1840, on the part of some who objected to women taking an active part, as speakers or office-holders, in the Society or its auxiliaries. This secession was stimulated by a spirit of sectarian exclusiveness, very different from that of the parent society, which welcomes co-operation from all persons who believe that slavery is a sin, and that immediate emancipation is the right of the slave. The comprehensive spirit of the parent society is set forth with remarkable clearness in a speech of Mr. Garrison's, published in the Leeds Series of Anti-Slavery Tracts, No. 86. The secession above alluded to took the form of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which holds one public meeting in the year ; the rest of its work being accomplished mainly through the energy of its prime mover and principal member, Mr. Lewis Tappan.

SECT. IX.—DIFFICULTIES OF ABOLITIONISTS.

An Englishman, hearing for the first time of slavery as it now exists in the southern states of the American Union, would naturally suppose that the free northern states would, with one voice, protest against the continuance of an institution so degrading to their professed love of liberty, so iniquitous, and so dangerous to the Federal Union. He would conclude that in a country where no church establishment connected with the state limits within certain rules the official duties of the clergy, their pulpits would ring, Sabbath after Sabbath, with exhortations to repentance, and repudiation of their great national sin. He would presume that the difficulties of the abolitionists consisted in devising a safe and judicious scheme for the emancipation of the slaves, and not in obtaining assistance and encouragement from their fellow-citizens, whether lay or clerical. Far different, however, is the actual condition of this philanthropic movement in the free portion of the United States.* The abolitionists declare that if the clergy denounced slavery as they would any other sin, the system could not exist another year in that country. And they describe the ramifications of the slaveholding system—through the medium of commercial

* In speaking of the clergy and religious bodies of America (where, as is well known, there is no established church), all denominations of Christians are included, whether Protestant Episcopalians, Catholics, Independents, Methodists, members of the Society of Friends, Presbyterians, Unitarians, Universalists, &c.

pursuits, family and social connections, political predilections, and church associations—to be so interwoven with the feelings, habits, and interests of the inhabitants of the free States, as to blind them to the magnitude of the evil which is undermining the national character, and portending incalculable calamity to their future welfare. “Selfishness,” say the abolitionists, “is our great obstacle. The man of business fears to lose his money, or the opportunity of getting it; the commission merchant wants consignments of southern products; the northern creditor of the planter holds a mortgage on his human live stock; another holds uncultivated lands in distant parts that will need slave labour; the teacher fears offending the parents of his pupils; the merchant’s ships are in southern ports waiting to carry a cargo of slaves from one State to another; a northern gentleman, not friendly himself to slavery, may have one son a cotton agent at New Orleans, another a clergyman in Mississippi, or a daughter married to a planter in Georgia. Some inhabitants of the northern States possess slave property in the south, and obtain returns from it by letting out their slaves on hire. Thus, and in a thousand other ways, are northern citizens prejudiced against abolitionism, while the clergy are afraid of offending their parishioners by touching upon the unwelcome and forbidden topic.”

Most painful are those statements of the American abolitionists, in their public meetings and in their printed annual reports, which refer to the conduct of the clergy in relation to slavery. It is impossible, in perusing them, not to sympathize in the deep feeling of regret and disappointment which they express.

Even Dr. Channing, whose powerful writings against slavery have had great influence in directing public opinion against the system, did not come forward until the abolitionists had been for some years exerting themselves; and he never joined any of the Anti-Slavery Societies.

The American ministers maintain that we in this country cannot possibly be aware of the various circumstances of their position, which prevent them from taking an open and decided part in opposition to slavery, and entreat us to give them credit for acting as wisdom and conscience dictate, though they may not adopt the course we think they ought to pursue. We readily

accord to them this claim ; yet we venture to ask if, removed as we are from the influences which may tend to mislead their judgment and embarrass their action, *we* may not have the power of seeing more clearly than they can the pointings of their duty ? And when we consider the vast extent of the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Associations during the last fifteen years, the immense number of their publications, the defence of their principles and conduct against an almost unprecedented amount of opposition, obloquy, and persecution ; when we see these societies not only surmounting all attempts to put them down, but increasing in importance, and defying the slaveholders of the south and the slave-supporters of the north to impeach their motives, to refute their arguments, or defame their characters, justice to the abolitionists demands of us the admission that they have at least put us in possession of some important elements for forming a judgment on the merits of their case.

One fact, at any rate, is within the scope of our observation. In the heart of a civilized Christian nation, exulting in the freedom of its laws and government, is an institution outraging the laws of God and man, by allowing three millions of human beings to be robbed of the common rights of humanity, sold as cattle, and treated with cruelty, against which comparatively few of their ministers raise an audible voice.

Whatever opinions we may be disposed to form as to the duty of the American ministers of religion on this disputed subject, we ought, in order to obtain any clear views of it, to know the nature of the charges made by the abolitionists against the majority of their clergy of every denomination.

They do not hesitate to speak of the church as the great "bulwark of slavery." "The churches of the south," they tell us, "hold slaves, both in their church capacity and through their individual members, and are sustained, as Christians and as Christian churches in so doing, by the churches and Christians of the north." Some ministers maintain the lawfulness of slavery by appeals to the Bible. A slave has been sold for the purchase of communion plate. The theological synod of South Carolina and Georgia recently sold eight human beings to procure money for educating Presbyterian ministers. The clergy at the North generally condemn the abolitionists as a body of fanatics. Few would venture publicly to pray for the

freedom of the slave ; and giving notice of an anti-slavery meeting would frequently subject ministers to the severest censures of members of their churches. There exists among them a conventional agreement to speak of slavery "*in the abstract*" as a great evil, but they take no measures for its removal. The abolitionists say to the ministers of the free states, "If you disapprove of our measures, if you think us too violent and injudicious in our course, *let us see that you are sincere in your professed horror of slavery, by adopting other measures for its removal.* Do not foster the prejudice against colour by treating free men residing in your own cities with contumely and scorn, because they happen to be less white than yourselves ; do not exclude them from mixing with white children in schools ; do not in your churches separate them from the rest of the congregation, and compel them to occupy 'negro pews ;' do not insult them, even after death, by insisting that they shall be buried at a distance from their white brethren. With such a sphere of influence as you enjoy, do not dare to incur the awful responsibility of maintaining that 'Silence is your duty on this question.' Petition for the abolition of slavery in the free city of Washington, where the Congress holds its sittings. Demand the abrogation of the laws compelling free States to surrender fugitive slaves to their masters. Insist that a State cannot be called free if the slave have not the same liberty there that he would find on going a little farther north, to the British possessions in Canada. In your public ministrations preach in behalf of the slave ; pray for his liberty. *We do not ask you to join our societies or adopt our plans, but we call upon you to do SOMETHING for the slave ;* we ask you to prove, by your open conduct in contending against the sin of slave-holding, the sincerity of your professions as men and as Christians. We call upon you as men who will have hereafter to give an account of your stewardship, to exert the power you possess over the great mass of American society, to arouse their attention to the deep sin with which the nation is stained, and to exertion for its removal."

So strong is the feeling among some of the abolitionists, of the unfaithfulness to duty on the part of their former ministers, that they have left the religious societies with which they were connected, being unable, as they say, to derive spiritual com-

fort and improvement from the ministrations of persons who so imperfectly and reservedly carry forward the great principles of Christianity.

The clergy, on the other hand, maintain that their abstaining from allusions to slavery is necessary for the preservation of their usefulness and influence among their people. They assert that the discussion of this "delicate question" would disturb the harmony of the churches, and consequently that the *interests of religion* would suffer. The abolitionists maintain that the "interests of religion" and of sectarian associations are not identical; that true religion cannot be promoted by permitting a fearful national sin to remain unrebuked; that it can serve the best interests of no church to disregard the great principles of the gospel; that it is not by paying "tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin," that vital Christianity is to be cherished, but by observing "the weightier matters of the law—judgment, mercy and faith." These arguments are powerfully urged by Mr. Birney in his essay entitled, *The American Church the Bulwark of American Slavery*.

Whatever opinion we may form as to the propriety of withdrawal from ecclesiastical associations, there is no reason for thinking that the anti-slavery seceders are the least serious or religious portion of the community, though they have incurred the reproach of being hostile to religion, much in the same way that the refusal to support, by their votes, a constitution which they view as requiring of them sinful compliances, has obtained for those who withdrew from politics on anti-slavery grounds, the charge of being opposed to all human government.

The American abolitionists differ among themselves upon many points in their modes of action, and, in consequence, afford much handle to those opposed to their undertaking generally, or to their particular line of conduct, to censure and condemn them. When some are accused of being infidels in religion, and anarchists in politics, according to the views they hold as to the criminal apathy of their clergy, or the pro-slavery character of their constitution—when wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters at the North, who make their voices heard in public on behalf of the female slave, are accused of advocating what has been sneeringly termed "*Woman's rights*"—we must

not hastily conclude that those upon whom this obloquy is heaped are deserving of it.

Any direct extension of their views into the slave States, the abolitionists find almost impracticable. So violent is the prejudice against them, that the life of a known abolitionist would not be safe in a southern State. At an early part of his career, 5000 dollars were publicly offered by the Legislature of Georgia for the head of Mr. Garrison; and still larger rewards for the apprehension and delivery of Mr. Arthur Tappan and other eminent abolitionists, were publicly offered by individuals in different parts of the slave States, of which many particulars will be found in the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The post-masters in the slave States have power to destroy any anti-slavery papers passing through the post-office; and such is the disregard of the laws of the country, exhibited by persons of wealth and station when this exciting topic is agitated, that even a constitutional discussion of the subject of slavery is rendered impossible. Respected as our laws are in England, and interested as are the intellectual classes, and all who may have property in the country, in maintaining their sanctity, it will be scarcely credited to what an extent the Americans disregard their laws. Mr. Cassius M. Clay, a gentleman of cultivated mind, superior talents, and good family, in the State of Kentucky, who had liberated his slaves and established a paper called the *True American*, in which he advocated a very gradual abolition of slavery,—having, in 1845, published some articles considered dangerous to the “*peculiar institution*,” was commanded, by a committee of sixty gentlemen, merchants, planters, &c., of Lexington, the town in which he resided, to desist from continuing his paper; and on his refusal to obey this self-appointed tribunal, they forcibly entered his office, took his presses to pieces, packed them up and sent them to Cincinnati, in the free State of Ohio, “*resolving*” that no abolition newspaper should be published in Kentucky. On a prosecution of some of this respectable mob, the parties were acquitted, the judge declaring that *in emergencies there was no obligation to observe the slow forms of law*. The following additional example may be given of the contempt for the law exhibited in America:—A black man at St. Louis, in Missouri, named M’Intosh, who had stabbed an officer by whom he was arrested, was tied to a tree in the middle of the city by

the inhabitants, then surrounded by piles of wood, and slowly burned to death. The details of the murder are dreadful. The Hon. Luke E. Lawless, judge of the Circuit Court of Missouri, decided officially that “as this burning of M’Intosh was the act of a *majority*, it was a case that transcended the jurisdiction of the grand jury !”

In 1844, the Hon. Samuel Hoare, a gentleman of long experience at the bar and in the councils of the state and nation, was deputed by the commonwealth of Massachusetts to proceed to Charleston for the purpose of collecting facts, and prosecuting a suit in the supreme court at the expense of the State, in order to determine how far the laws of South Carolina warranted the imprisonment of *free* coloured people who arrived there on ship-board. The public authorities, however, would neither recognise nor protect Mr. Hoare in his mission ; the Governor and Legislature passed angry resolutions ; he was waited upon by the sheriff and some gentlemen of the town, who informed him that his life was not secure ; and it was at length made evident to him that his personal safety demanded his immediate escape from the place.

Though no anti-slavery *demonstration* can be ventured on in the southern States, it is well known that many individuals earnestly desire to aid in the abolition of slavery, and that they are able in various silent methods to forward the cause.

SECT. X.—SUCCESS AND PROSPECTS OF THE ABOLITIONISTS.

Among the people of the northern States, accustomed from infancy to regard the cruelty and injustice of a remote institution with indifference—habituated themselves to the practice of a minor degree of tyranny and unchristian conduct towards a portion of their own fellow-citizens, and with their personal interests much bound up with the existing order of things—a great moral movement having for its object the arousing the consciences of the inhabitants to a sense of national guilt, cannot but proceed slowly, nor can it give, excepting after long intervals, any clear indications of progress. Yet, though the abolitionists have had almost incredible difficulties to contend against, and much to dispirit them, they consider their cause as making some advance, and as now brightening beyond their previous expectations.

Formerly they could not hold meetings in the towns of the free States without personal hazard: now they are not only undisturbed, but many of the State halls are thrown open to them, and their assemblies are attended by enthusiastic crowds. It would, indeed, be contrary to the natural and usual progress of events, if, among a great and intelligent people, professing the Christian religion, and their obligation to conform to its requirements, the unwearied persevering efforts of a body of disinterested persons, to expose a national sin of destructive influence and portentous aspect, did not produce some decided effect. In the year 1830 there was not a single Anti-Slavery Society in America; now there are hundreds of thousands of the people who are open in their hostility to slavery,[†] and more or less active in the manifestation of their zeal. Newspapers and other publications advocating the abolition of slavery are also very numerous in the northern States.

From the schisms that have taken place in some of the religious bodies as to their duty in regard to slavery, the abolitionists infer that a considerable awakening of the conscience of serious people is taking place, and they augur well from this circumstance.*

If their clergy do not encourage the religious societies with which they are connected to advocate the cause of the oppressed slave, the anti-slavery party now entertain the hope that the congregations, in advance of their ministers upon this vital question, will induce them to *follow*, though they will not *lead*, their flocks.

In this country, attention is so much directed to the conduct of the American ministers in reference to slavery in the United States, that those who visit England, and are known to be favourable to slavery, or even those who have taken no part in efforts for its abolition, are, in many of our towns, unlikely to meet with that cordial welcome to the pulpits of those in the same communion with themselves, which was accorded to them some years ago, when the question of American slavery was less understood here.† The growing attention to American

* This favourable prospect continues to the present time, and the labours of the abolitionists are more and more apparent in their influence on the public mind.

† This vigilance against the intrusion of American pro-slavery divines into English pulpits, has recently become much more marked than heretofore, and is certainly on the increase.

slavery in this country, as evidenced by our public journals, by the unusual number of contributions from Great Britain and Ireland to the Boston bazaar, and by other unequivocal demonstrations, affords much encouragement to the abolitionists.

We are apt to imagine here, that the American abolitionists are advocating some specific plans for effecting the change from slave to free labour, and that they are endeavouring to influence public opinion in favour of their schemes. Such, however, is far from being the case ; they do not regard it as their business to make any suggestions of this nature ; unhappily, the prevailing sentiment of the United States is not yet even adverse to the existence of slavery. The abolitionists are only aiming to open the eyes of their country to the sinfulness of a degrading institution, which is weighing heavily upon the best interests of the people, and disgracing them in the eyes of foreigners. They call upon the people to remove from the Republic the disgrace of holding three millions of their fellow-men in bondage. They cannot believe that Providence will long allow the continuance of such iniquity in a land of professed Christians, and they urge their fellow-citizens to effect that change *peaceably*, which, if not thus brought about, they believe will be produced by scenes of violence and bloodshed too terrible to contemplate. They feel that if they had but the ministers of religion on their side, their victory over the opinion of the nation would be a speedy one. If, therefore, we find that they condemn their clergy in language which appears inconsistent with Christian gentleness and charity, we are bound to consider the position in which they are placed, and to make allowance for the warmth which may be required to melt the icy atmosphere by which they are surrounded.

The time appears to be approaching when the occurrence of various remarkable circumstances will compel a decision either in favour of, or against slavery. Indeed, that such are already taking place and demanding an unequivocal expression of opinion, will appear from the following examples.

The constitution of the United States, as we have already stated, requires that fugitive slaves should be given up if demanded by their masters ; and the slaveholders and their friends call upon the inhabitants of the northern States to obey the requisition of the constitution, and to afford no

asylum to their missing property. The abolitionists, on the contrary, and with them thousands of other humane people, believe that in sheltering the fugitive they are discharging a duty to a fellow-creature, and "obeying God rather than man." Marked instances of the public profession of this principle are occurring. In 1844, Francis Jackson, Esq., of Boston, a magistrate, resigned his commission of the peace, on this ground. He maintained that the call of duty and humanity was in favour of the slave, and not of the master: and in his letter of resignation to his Excellency, Governor Briggs, he makes this emphatic declaration:—"That part of the constitution which provides for the surrender of fugitive slaves, I never have supported, and never will. I will join in no slave-hunt. My door shall stand open, as it has long stood, for the panting and trembling victim of the slave-hunter. When I shut my door against him, may God shut the door of His mercy against me!" Similar sentiments have been uttered by thousands, and carried into action by numbers since the passing of the Fugitive Slave Bill has roused into indignant energy the anti-slavery feelings of the people of the free States.

A justice of the peace, in Indiana, has also resigned his commission for the same reason. In 1848, the Rev. Charles T. Torrey died while under sentence of imprisonment for six years, in a jail in Maryland, for assisting slaves to escape. One party maintained that he underwent a just punishment for violating the laws of the country, well knowing the penalty he incurred. Mr. Torrey, on the other hand, carried with him the full sympathy of a large class of Americans, when he declared that what is regarded and punished as a crime in the United States, would be commended as an act of humanity and Christian duty had it been performed in behalf of white captives in Turkey or Africa. In reference to Mr. Torrey's incarceration, the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, at their annual meeting in 1845, passed a resolution in which they express, in strong terms, condemnation of the apathy of the clergy of that commonwealth, for "tamely and quietly acquiescing in the imprisonment of one of their number for a deed which does honour to his profession."

In 1844, Captain Jonathan Walker, who allowed seven slaves to sail with him in his vessel from Pensacola, in West Florida,

in the hope of their being safely landed in the British islands of Bermuda, was, owing to illness, unable to navigate his boat on her voyage, and, being captured, was sent back to Pensacola. The negroes were returned to their owners, and Captain Walker was put into prison, where he nearly lost his life from the severity of his treatment during his severe illness. He was afterwards tried, convicted, exposed for an hour in the pillory, the letters S.S. (Slave Stealer) branded on his hand with a hot iron, a heavy fine imposed on him, and his imprisonment continued, until kind friends came forward to pay the large sum demanded of him, amounting to 596 dollars. The slave-holders say that Captain Walker suffered less than his deserts, and ought to be thankful for getting off so easily. The anti-slavery party applaud him for his generous and benevolent efforts in behalf of the oppressed slave. He afterwards engaged as a lecturer in favour of abolition, and produced much excitement by exhibiting his branded hand, and exposing the wickedness of slavery.

While Captain Walker was in prison, a resolution of sympathy and commendation, passed at a meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in London, and transmitted to him, was forcibly taken from him, and laid before a committee of the Legislative Council of the territory of Florida. In their report on the occasion, the committee express the greatest indignation at the interference of English abolitionists in their concerns, and recommend that in future death be the punishment for assisting slaves to escape!

In 1844, John L. Brown was condemned to be hanged for assisting in the escape of a slave in South Carolina, and the sentence would probably have been executed but for the indignation expressed by the inhabitants of this country, not only at public meetings, but even in the House of Lords.

These instances are sufficient to show how impossible it is that the majority of the people in the northern States should long occupy a neutral position, or that they should practise "the duty of observing silence with respect to slavery," (as recommended by an eminent minister at a public meeting), while events of so daring a character are continually demanding the expression of opinion respecting them.

The recent annexation of Texas to the United States, which

was effected by a species of legislative legerdemain, will probably hasten the downfall of slavery, through the disgust excited by this high-handed feat of the slave interest. They have thus added to the Union an extent of territory capable of being parcelled out into eight or ten slave States—a measure which was never contemplated at the time the American confederacy was consolidated by the Constitution in 1787. Indeed, the abolitionists declare this proceeding to be far more revolutionary than any they advocate; and many at the north maintain that they are, by this act of the Legislature, absolved from all obligation to a government which has thus violated the conditions of their union with the southern States. An immense market for the slave-breeding States is now opened in Texas; and the more numerous the slaves are, the greater will be the power of the slaveholders in Congress. The abolitionists rejoice that some who held back from committing themselves publicly to any opinion upon slavery as it formerly existed, have ventured to speak out since this bold and unequivocal pro-slavery act of annexing Texas has been consummated.

The infamous Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 has had the same effect. The anti-slavery spirit of the north is more vigorous and hopeful than ever. The number of fugitives recovered under the provisions of the law continually diminishes, whilst the multitudes that escape are beyond all precedent.* And to the direct agency of this law the world is indebted for some of the noblest contributions to anti-slavery literature. Mrs. Stowe's famous tale of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, has had a sale unprecedented for extent and rapidity, and has done more to arrest the attention of the civilized world to its theme than any other book ever effected in the same time. The *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* is an invaluable counterpart to Weld's

* One of the earliest instances in which this law was attempted to be put into execution was that of William and Ellen Craft, whose case excited much interest in this country, and for whose re-capture the President of the United States offered the use of the army, navy, and militia, if needed. In No. 35 of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Tracts will be found a sketch of their eventful escape from Macon, Georgia, in the disguise of a planter and his slave; their subsequent settlement in Boston, and their enforced flight from that city, in a British vessel, to evade a hot pursuit instituted after them, in consequence of the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law; with a portrait of Mrs. Craft, in the disguise in which she effected her wonderful escape.

American Slavery as it is, and affords ample proof that the most thrilling statements in the story can be paralleled by facts yet more astounding. Rev. Wm. Goodell's *American Slave Code* is an able digest of the law of slavery, showing that the law, practice, and public sentiment of the slave States, are naturally and inevitably productive of the most terrible results, and fully bear out the charges of the abolitionists. The *White Slave*, by Richard Hildreth, a powerful story, is filled with arguments and disquisitions which show the inseparable evils of the slave system, and its demoralising effects upon the community which maintains it.

SECT. XI.—GENERAL REMARKS.—CLAIM OF THE ABOLITIONISTS
ON BRITISH SYMPATHY AND AID.

That slavery will be put an end to at no very distant period, appears to be the expectation of all who have no direct interest in its continuance—even of those who will take no steps in hastening this desirable event. But when it is considered that, by births and importation, 150,000 slaves are now being yearly added to the already existing millions, remote, indeed, must be their emancipation if no efforts be made to promote it. The late John Quincy Adams, formerly president of the United States, who never gave a single vote in Congress in favour of abolition measures (though he, amidst much odium, strenuously supported the right of petitioning for them), uses this strong language in an address to the coloured population who were celebrating his visit to Cincinnati, in 1843:—"That slavery will be abolished in this country and throughout the world, I firmly believe. Whether it shall be done peaceably or by blood, God only knows; but that it shall be accomplished I have no doubt; and by whatever way, I say—let it come."

"Let us," says Mr. Abdy, "root out slavery in the United States, and it will not long poison the atmosphere of Brazil and the West Indies. In its present vigour it co-operates with every kind of cruelty and injustice, wherever at work or latent. It retards the progress of liberty, whether political, religious, or social; and it tends to throw an odium as well upon free institutions as on those who sigh for their promotion."

To prevent, however, so dire a catastrophe as the termination of slavery by rebellion and massacre, is the great aim of the

slandered abolitionists of America. They maintain that a bloodless abolition of slavery might be effected, if the object were ardently desired, and unanimously attempted by the inhabitants of the free States ; and that the result would be alike beneficial to the pecuniary interests and the morals of their country, while it would remove that stigma which now attaches to them as the professed representatives of liberty and independence. “Did earth,” says an American writer previously quoted, “ever witness such a spectacle? A nation declaring to the world that ‘all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right of liberty,’ and then, by the Constitution of her national existence, offering the highest premium for slave-breeding and slave-trading! Professing to be an asylum to the oppressed of all lands, and then qualifying men for the exercise of political power according to the number of their slaves—thus making slaveholding the foundation of its national government! A nation boasting of its intelligence, its civilization, its religion—of its schools, colleges, churches, Bibles, ministers, and democracy—rewarding and honouring its citizens according to the amount of their property in the ‘persons’ of men, and to the number of immortal beings whom they have shut out from all knowledge, and all hope, and have been enabled to herd with the beasts of the field! The only cure for such a Constitution is its destruction—the only remedy for such a Union is its dissolution.”

It may not appear very obvious how private individuals in this country, however much they may deplore such an institution as American slavery, can do anything towards the removal of an evil so great in itself, so distant, and surrounded with such formidable defences. Yet the abolitionists of the United States most emphatically assure us that we *can* render them essential service. They assert that their nation is ever much influenced by the deliberate opinion of the intelligent and benevolent portion of ours ; and they urge us to acquire and diffuse, as widely as possible, a correct knowledge of the cruel nature and demoralizing consequences of slavery in their southern States. They assure us there is nothing in their circumstances, objects, or principles, that we cannot fully understand. They appeal to us as Christians, as brethren of the human family, as persons descended from the same ancestors

and using the same language, to assist and encourage them. They look upon their enterprise as a holy one, and firmly trust that God will bless every disinterested effort, however small it may be, however remote its origin, to avert from their beloved country the fearful calamities with which the continuance of slavery threatens it. Every document bearing to their shores sentiments of approval and respect for their cause, they feel to be a support at the present time, and an encouragement of their future efforts. Exhortations from the various religious bodies in this country to societies of the same communion in America, beseeching their brethren—their ministers especially—to manifest a decided opposition to the continuance of the sin of slavery among them, are considered as an important mode of aiding the efforts of the abolitionists. There is reason to believe that an important clerical protest was called forth by a respectful but earnest address to their American brethren, signed by 190 Unitarian ministers in this country, and transmitted to the United States in 1843. “American slavery,” says an intelligent abolitionist, “is remote only in its physical and sectional locality. A true soul, wherever placed on God’s earth, can give it mortal wounds. The high-toned, consistent, persevering rebuke of Europeans, and especially of England, Ireland, and Scotland, is keenly felt here.”

To promote the co-operation of the abolitionists of this country with those of America, a cheap anti-slavery newspaper, called the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, is published in London, by Mr. William Tweedie, 337, Strand, on the first of each month. It is forwarded to subscribers by post for 2s. annually, or it may be had of the booksellers for a penny a number. This paper generally contains an amount of anti-slavery information not readily accessible, and furnishes a very cheap and useful medium of communication for the friends of the cause; and as such, it is confidently recommended to their support and patronage.*

During the last year, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, the well-

* Mr. Garrison, in the *Liberator* of June 24, speaks of the *Anti-Slavery Advocate* in the following terms of commendation:—“We have never seen the anti-slavery periodical which contained so much important and indispensable information, and condensed in so small a space, as these numbers of the *Advocate* have presented.”

known organ of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, has been reduced in price to 3*d.* per monthly number ; and, since coming under the management of a new editor, has advocated the cause of the abolition movement of America with an earnestness and fairness which are very encouraging.

Another monthly periodical, called the *Anti-Slavery Watchman*, has lately appeared, which may also be had of Mr. Tweedie, price 2*d.* ; and is likewise published in Manchester, being specially designed for the diffusion of anti-slavery information throughout the manufacturing districts. We heartily wish it success.

Requiring, as the American Anti-Slavery Societies do, funds for the payment of lecturers, and the dissemination of publications among their large population, they venture to hope that wealthy and benevolent friends of the slave in Great Britain will not withhold from them pecuniary help, or the means of obtaining it. And if we do nothing else for them, they tell us they shall be thankful and encouraged in their work if they have but the sympathy and good wishes of the feeling hearts of their fatherland. Their sentiments towards the friends in England interested for them, cannot be more appropriately portrayed than in the words of a distinguished lady of Boston to a friend in Bristol, in reference to the articles sent from this and other towns to the late Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Bazaar :—

“I cannot be present at the opening of one of your boxes from England, without finding my eyes full of tears. How all space is annihilated to us ! and how truly our hearts meet in this great cause which makes us cease to be of any country but of that one whose King is our Creator, and whose laws are universal love and justice ! We are, indeed, all brethren. O ! my dear friend, speak for us and give our heartfelt thanks, our blessing to all—to each one who sent those loving, and generous, and beautiful testimonials of their sympathy with us in the cause of human freedom, and of Christian pity for the suffering bondsmen of this our wicked Egypt. Still help us with your prayers, your loving-kindness. You do much—more than you think for. When they see your munificent aid, the cold and selfish are ashamed, and begin to think for whom and for what principle you are labouring and sacrificing. God’s best blessing be with you all for the good you do to us ! ”

The influence of this annual fair extends vastly beyond its pecuniary results, through the attention thus attracted to its object; and while the anti-slavery party in America are so earnestly soliciting our support in their sacred cause, it is hardly to be supposed that any, really interested in their philanthropic movement, will be deterred from affording them the co-operation they deserve, by the argument that one country has no right to interfere with the institutions of another. A nation that has emancipated 800,000 slaves in the western world and some millions in the east; whose sovereign in her wide dominions rules not over a single human being who is legally a slave*—a nation whose territory, in whatever quarter of the globe it is situated, gives freedom to the bondsman the moment his foot touches its soil—may, without arrogance, entreat a great and Christian country, connected with it by numerous sympathies and interests, to relinquish an unholy institution, and to unite in efforts to civilize and ameliorate the world.

Emancipation must, ere long, become the common cause of Christendom, as the abolition of the slave trade was a few years ago. In 1822, the American House of Representatives requested their president to enter into negotiations with other maritime powers for its suppression; and now it seems that the United States will become the field on which the last battle for and against slavery itself is to be fought. To those who take a different view on this point, the following observations of the celebrated Dr. Channing, in his *Remarks on the Slavery Question*, are suggested for their consideration:—

“The position is false that nation has no right to interfere morally with nation. Every community is responsible to other communities for its laws, habits, character: not responsible in the sense of being liable to physical punishment and force, but in the sense of just exposure to reprobation and scorn. And this moral control communities are bound to exercise over each

* From the letters of Mr. Peter Gordon, recently published in the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, we have reason to apprehend that, in some parts of British India, a portion of the people are kept in bondage by their countrymen. But this is an illegal abuse, maintained contrary to positive enactment, by the cupidity of the natives, the apathy of the British local administrators of justice, and their ignorance of the language of those over whom they are appointed to rule.

other, and exercise it more and more in proportion to the spread of intelligence and civilization. The world is governed much more by opinion than laws. With the progress of society this power of opinion is taking the place of arms. In this state of the world, all attempts of the slaveholders to put to silence the condemning voice of men, whether far or near, is vain. I utterly deny that a people can screen themselves behind their nationality from the moral reprobation of the world."

APPENDIX I.

The BOSTON FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY (auxiliary to the "American Anti-Slavery Society") have, for several years, received assistance from ladies in Great Britain and Ireland to their annual Fair or Bazaar, and this co-operation is greatly increasing.

Contributions of articles of use and ornament, of no great bulk, and which will bear being packed without injury; ladies' fancy-work, stationery, the products of manufactories (especially of such works of taste and art as are not made in the United States), as well as donations of money, will be appropriated in an effectual manner for the promotion of the cause.

The following ladies have consented to receive donations for the "American Anti-Slavery Society," and contributions to the Boston Bazaar, held annually, which should be forwarded to them before the end of September:—

Bath.....	Mrs. Hayes, 3, Marlborough Buildings.
Belfast.....	Miss Ireland, Royal Institution.
Birmingham	Mrs. Harry Hunt, Edgbaston.
Bradford, (Yorkshire).....	Mrs. T. F. Bird, 3, Hustler's Terrace.
Bridgewater.....	Miss Browne.
Bristol.....	Mrs. H. Thomas, 2, Great George Street.
Cheltenham.....	Mrs. Furber.
Cork.....	The Misses Jennings.
Derby	Miss Hutton.
Dublin.....	Mrs. Edmundson, 35, Capel Street.
" "	Mrs. R. D. Webb, 176, Great Brunswick Street.
Edinburgh.....	Mrs. J. Wigham, 5, Grey Street.
Evesham.....	The Misses Davis.
Glasgow.....	Mrs. Welsh.
Hull.....	Mrs. Seaton, 30, Whitefriargate.
Isle of Wight.....	Mrs. Kell.
Kenilworth	Mrs. Grundy, Ladies' Hill.
Kidderminster.....	Miss Talbot.
Leeds	Mrs. R. L. Ford.
" "	Mrs. Joseph Lupton, 1, Blenheim Terrace.

Liverpool.....	Mrs. Banks, Myrtle Street, St. Ann's.
"	" Mrs. Powell, Clifton Terrace, Everton.
London.....	Mrs. Dr. Massie, Upper Clapton.
"	" Mrs. Reid, 21, York Terrace, Regent's Park.
Manchester.....	Miss Whitelegge, 130, Ormond Street.
Neath and Swansea.....	Mrs. Rowland.
Newcastle-on-Tyne.....	Mrs. John Mawson.
Nottingham.....	Mrs. W. Enfield.
Oxford.....	Mrs. Hemmings.
Perth.....	Miss Grant and Miss Hilditch.
Pontypool.....	Mrs. Davies.
Reading.....	Mrs. J. Huntley.
Southampton.....	Mrs. Harman and Mrs. Clark.
Thirsk.....	Mrs. Bartholomew Smith.
Warrington.....	Mrs. R. Gaskell.
Waterford.....	Miss M. Waring.
Whitehaven.....	Miss Hannah M. Peile, Waterloo Terrace.
Yarmouth.....	Miss Lettis.

APPENDIX II.

VALUABLE INFORMATION UPON THE SUBJECT OF THIS TRACT
MAY BE OBTAINED FROM THE FOLLOWING WORKS:—

- "Slavery in America," Chambers' Miscellany.
- "Narrative of Frederick Douglass, a Fugitive Slave."—Webb and Chapman, Dublin.
- "American Notes," by C. Dickens, vol. ii. chap. 9.
- "Society in America," and "Retrospect of Western Travel," by Miss Martineau.
- "The Martyr Age," by Miss Martineau.—Hamilton, Adams, & Co.
- "The American Churches the Bulwark of Slavery," by James G. Birney, late Presidential Candidate of the Liberty Party.—British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, London.
- "Narrative of William Wells Brown, an American Slave."—Gilpin, London.
- "American Scenes, and Christian Slavery," by the Rev. Ebenezer Davies. London, Snow.
- "Facts for Baptist Churches."—Collected, arranged, and revised by A. J. Foss, of New Hampshire, and Edward Mathews, of Wisconsin, U.S.
- "Abdy's Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States."—Murray, London.
- "Despotism in America," by R. Hildreth, Boston.
- "Captain Walker's Narrative."—Boston.
- "Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin," by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Clarke, London.
- "The American Slave Code," by Rev. W. Goodell.

"American Slavery as it is—Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses," by Theodore D. Weld.

Reports of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Do. of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Do. of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

Do. of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Do. of the Pennsylvania Female Anti-Slavery Society.

"Ten Years' of Experience," by M. W. Chapman.

"Dissolution of the Union," by H. C. Wright. Gallie, Glasgow.

"Appeal in behalf of that class of Americans called Africans," by Lydia Maria Child. Anti-Slavery Society, New York.

"Isaac T. Hopper's Life," by the same. 1853.

"Rankin's Letters on Slavery," fifth edition, pp. 109 (Rev. John Rankin). Brown & Co., Ohio.

"The Church as it is," by Parker Pillsbury.

"Five Years' Progress of the Slave Power," by Rev. J. Palfrey. Muzey & Co., Boston.

"Letter to the People of the United States, touching the matter of Slavery," by Theodore Parker. 1848.

"Tracts for the People, showing the relations of the United States Government to Slavery." Loring Moody. 1847.

"Slavery, and the Internal Slave Trade, in the United States of America, 1841. British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

The foregoing works, many of them printed in the United States, may be procured from any English Bookseller, through the London publishers.

A Library has been recently formed in Leeds, by the Anti-Slavery Association of that town, which contains nearly the whole of the above works, and a large collection of others on the same subjects. Persons in that neighbourhood may avail themselves of this, by becoming members of the Anti-Slavery Association. The following are the Rules of the Library :—

1. Any Member of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association may have books for perusal from its Library by application to the Sub-Librarian, on presentation of a Member's Ticket.

2. If a book applied for be in circulation, it may be obtained as soon as it shall be returned, according to priority of application.

3. The object of the Association being to diffuse information as widely as possible, to sustain and increase an interest in the Anti-Slavery Cause; any Member of the Committee, or Life Member of the Library, is at liberty to lend Books, such Member being responsible for their return in reasonable time, uninjured.

Catalogues may be had from the Sub-Librarian, James Milnes, at the Depot, Town-Mission Room, 1, Park Lane, Leeds.

N.B. Members of the Association are entitled to be supplied monthly with a copy of the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*; Subscribers of five shillings may receive the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, if preferred.

Additions of works of interest are frequently being made to the Leeds Anti-Slavery Library, and we would recommend the formation of similar Libraries elsewhere.

For those who are desirous of Anti-Slavery information, or of spreading it extensively, the Leeds Anti-Slavery Series of Tracts offer a good and cheap opportunity of doing so. These Tracts consist of nearly 100 varieties, from 6d. per 100 and upwards, several of them illustrated with wood-cuts. Those who wish to hasten the day of freedom to the slave by this means, may be supplied with specimens, or any information, on application to Wilson Armistead, Leeds. Volumes including the whole series, with engravings, are sent post free for 2s. 6d. in postage stamps, or, if preferred, a bundle of Tracts about a pound weight for the same charge.

If persons corresponding with, or sending goods to America, made a point of inclosing some of these tracts, it would be like scattering seed in the now prepared soil. We ought also to endeavour to derive the full benefit from our cheap postage at home, by making up the weight prescribed with something likely to do good, "thus casting our bread upon the waters." Tracts might be inclosed in every letter, without increasing the postage. Let them be sent in faith, a blessing asked upon them, and we know not how many may take root, and what a fruitful harvest will result. We must not be silent or inactive so long as a single brother or sister bleeds in chains. So long as one man holds property in another, and Anti-Slavery feeling needs to be created and kept alive, society must be saturated with it; it must be preached everywhere, and to the great work of emancipation every assistance must be summoned.

APPENDIX III.

SLAVEHOLDERS' CONFESSION.

Since the foregoing pages were printed, the following observations have been made by the Editor of an American pro-Slavery paper (*The Richmond Examiner*, December 5, 1853), which we here insert for the reader's encouragement to labour on in the cause of freedom, in full faith of obtaining the victory.

The Editor of that paper has displayed great generalship in surveying the position of the Abolitionists. He exhibits a man of a deep thinking mind, with a rare talent for close scrutiny into the camp of his opponents. He frankly confesses the Abolitionists are to be feared as well as respected, and he freely admits the following important points, which he fearlessly places before the Slaveholders:—

That all men in the United States now agree that Slavery is the all-absorbing question for that Republic, even more so than all other questions, moral, political, and religious combined.

That there is *no* peace for the Slaveholder, and no hope from any measures of politicians, however loud any party may cry peace; all hope for the Slaveholder is gone, and gone forever.

That the permanency of the Union, and the destiny of mankind, are now staked upon the success of free government.

That Great Britain, with all her commercial interests, that ramify the affairs of the world—with all her monied power, which can dictate peace or war, are *all—all* determined upon the destruction of Slavery.

That all the power of the strictly religious portion of every community throughout the whole civilized world, is now arraying against the institution—and they have powerful allies who are joining their ranks.

That any man is a shallow observer, if not a hopeful fool, who believes that the Slavery agitation is ended.

That all the talent, money, ingenuity, and subtlety of the whole world can do to destroy Slavery, is *now* being done, and at this very hour, and that never was Slavery in so much danger as at this moment.

That it is in vain for Slaveholders, like the ostrich, to stick their heads under the sand, and then suppose their whole bodies are protected. That the Slaveholders are entirely surrounded with an army with banners, with whom *no* compromise can be made; and that then *all* is at stake, and to be decided on the cast of one great moral battle. [He probably means that as soon as pro-slavery clergymen, and pro-slavery presses, join the Abolitionists, then the Slaveholders will ground their arms and surrender.]

That the Slave-holding States [to use the Editor's own words] are begirt with a circle of fire; and that all the powers of hell never presented against heaven a more formidable front than the Abolitionists are now marshalling against Slavery.

That the Abolitionists are great generals; that their vigilance is unceasing; and that now their principles are so firmly rooted, that the South are upon a volcano.

That though the field officers among the Abolitionists may be divided in opinion as to which wing of Slavery to strike first—they are all united in the general opinion that the monster must be destroyed.

That all the fountains of public opinion are being poisoned against Slavery and the Slaveholders; that millions of copies of *Uncle Tom* are finding greedy purchasers; that it has for months, every night, been dramatized before packed audiences, and to an extent before unprecedented; that preachers, periodicals and papers, of every grade and degree, are joining in the general yell against Slaveholders and Slavery.

The Editor of this Virginian Newspaper, who makes the foregoing and many other similar admissions, which we have not space to include, has displayed great generalship in surveying the position of Slavery and of its adversaries the Abolitionists. If such facts are held up in bold relief by a pro-slavery Editor, surely all who are working for freedom have cause for encouragement to gird on more strength for the contest, to go up as did the stripling shepherd with his sling against the giant of Gath; and in the name of the God of truth and justice, do battle against this monster of iniquity, till it not only totter, but fall to rise no more.

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